
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

Series 3: “The Four Freedoms” and FDR in World War II

File No. 1539

1944 October 5

Campaign Address from the White House

TAKE I

Every man and every woman in this nation — regardless of party — who have the right to register and to vote, and the opportunity to register and to vote, have also the sacred obligation to register and to vote. For the free and secret ballot is the real keystone of our American constitutional system.

The American Government has survived and prospered for more than a century and a half, and it is now at the highest peak of its vitality. This is primarily because when the American people want a change of Government — even when they merely want "new faces" — they can raise the old electioneering battle-cry of "throw the rascals out".

The right to vote must be open to our citizens irrespective of race, color or creed — without tax or artificial restriction of any kind. The sooner we get to that basis of political equality, the better it will be for the country as a whole.

- STOP -

TAKE II

Candidates in every part of the United States are now engaged in running for office.

All of us are actuated by a normal desire to win. But, speaking personally, I should be very sorry to be elected President of the United States on a small turnout of voters. And by the same token, if I were to be defeated, I should be much happier to be defeated in a large outpouring of voters. Then there could not be any question of doubt in anybody's mind as to which way the masses of the American people wanted this election to go.

The free and full exercise of our sacred right and duty to vote is more important than the personal hopes or ambitions of any candidate for any office in the land.

The administration which must cope with the difficult problems of winning the war, and of peace and reconstruction should be chosen by a clear majority of all the people and not a part of the people.

I wish to make a special appeal to the women of the nation to exercise their right to vote. Women have taken an active part in this war in many ways -- in uniform, in plants and ship yards, in offices and stores and hospitals, on farms and on railroads and buses -- that they have become more than ever a very integral part of our national effort.

I know how difficult it is, especially for the many millions of women now employed, to get away to register and vote. Many of them have to manage their households as well as their jobs. A grateful nation remembers that.

But all women whether employed directly in war jobs or not -- women of all parties and those not enrolled in any party -- this year have a double obligation to express by their votes what I know to be their keen interest in the affairs of government -- their obligation to themselves as citizens, and their obligation to their fighting husbands, sons, brothers and sweethearts.

STOP

TAKE III

I have never sought, and I do not welcome the support of any person or group committed to communism, or fascism, or any other foreign ideology which would undermine the American system of government or the American system of free competitive enterprise and private property.

That does not in the least interfere with the firm and friendly relationship which this nation has in this war, and will, I hope, continue to have with the Soviet Union. The kind of economy that suits the Russian people is their own affair. The American people are glad and proud to be allied with the gallant people of Russia, not only in winning this war but in laying the foundations for the world peace which will follow the war -- and in keeping that peace.

We have seen our civilization in deadly peril. We successfully met the challenge, due to the steadfastness of our Allies, to the aid we were able to give to our Allies, and to the unprecedented outpouring of American manpower, American productivity and American ingenuity -- and to the magnificent courage and enterprise of our fighting men and our military leadership.

What is now being won in battle must not be lost by lack of vision or by lack of faith or by division among ourselves and our Allies.

We must and we will continue to be united with our Allies in a powerful world organization which is ready and able to keep the peace -- if necessary by force.

To provide that assurance of international security is the policy, the effort and the obligation of this Administration.

We owe it to our posterity, we owe it to our heritage of freedom, we owe it to our God, to devote the rest of our lives and all of our capabilities to the building of a solid, durable structure of world peace.

STOP

RADIO SPEECH OF THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

OCTOBER 5, 1944

My fellow Americans -- I am speaking to you tonight from the White House. I am speaking particularly on behalf of those Americans who, regardless of party, very much hope that there will be recorded a large registration and a large vote this fall. I know from personal experience how effective precinct workers of all parties throughout the nation can be in assuring a large vote.

We are holding a national election despite all the prophecies of some politicians and a few newspapers who have stated, time and again in the past, that it was my sinister purpose to abolish all elections and to deprive the American people of the right to vote.

These same people, caring more for material riches than human rights, try to build up bogies of dictatorship in this Republic, although they know that free elections will always protect our nation against any such possibility.

Nobody will ever deprive the American people of the right to vote except the American people themselves -- and the only way they could do that is by not voting.

The continuing health and vigor of our democratic system depends on the public spirit and devotion of its citizens which find expression in the ballot box.

Take 1
Every man and every woman in this nation -- regardless of party -- who have the right to register and to vote, and the opportunity to register and to vote, have also the sacred obligation to register and to vote. For the free and secret ballot is the real keystone of our American constitutional system.

The American Government has survived and prospered for more than a century and a half, and it is now at the highest peak of its vitality. This is primarily because when the American people want a change of Government -- even when they merely want "new faces" -- they can raise the old electioneering battle-cry of "throw the rascals out".

It is true that there are many undemocratic defects in voting laws in the various States; and some of these produce injustice which prevent a full and free expression of public opinion.

The right to vote must be open to our citizens irrespective of race, color or creed -- without tax or artificial restriction of any kind. The sooner we get to that basis of political equality, the better it will be for the country as a whole.

Candidates in every part of the United States are now engaged in running for office.

End Take 1

Take 2

All of us are actuated by a normal desire to win.

But, speaking personally, I should be very sorry to be elected President of the United States on a small turnout of voters. And by the same token, if I were to be defeated, I should be much happier to be defeated in a large outpouring of voters. Then there could not be any question of doubt in anybody's mind as to which way the masses of the American people wanted this election to go.

The free and full exercise of our sacred right and duty to vote is more important than the personal hopes or ambitions of any candidate for any office in the land.

The administration which must cope with the difficult problems of winning the war, and of peace and reconstruction should be chosen by a clear majority of all the people and not a part of the people.

In the election of 1920 -- one of the most fateful elections in our history -- only forty-nine per cent of the potential voters actually voted.

Thus more than one half of American voters failed to do their basic duty as citizens.

We can be gratified that in recent years the percentage of potential voters in national elections who actually voted has been steadily going up.

In 1940, it was sixty-two and a half per cent.

But that still is not nearly good enough.

This year for many millions of our young men in the armed forces and the merchant marine and similar services, it will be difficult in many cases -- and impossible in some cases -- to register and vote.

I think the people will be able to fix the responsibility for this state of affairs, for they know that during this past year there were politicians who quite openly worked to restrict the use of the ballot in this election, hoping selfishly for a small vote.

It is, therefore, all the more important that we here
at home must not be slanders on Registration Day or Election
Day.

Tab 2
I wish to make a special appeal to the women of the
nation to exercise their right to vote. Women have taken an
active part in this war in many ways -- in uniform, in plants
and ship yards, in offices and stores and hospitals, on farms
and on railroads and buses -- that they have become more than
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But all women whether employed directly in war jobs
or not -- women of all parties and those not enrolled in any
party -- this year have a double obligation to express by
their votes what I know to be their keen interest in the

and take
affairs of government -- their obligation to themselves as citizens, and their obligation to their fighting husbands, sons, brothers and sweethearts.

It may sound to you repetitious on my part but it is my plain duty to reiterate to you that this war for the preservation of our civilization is not won yet.

In the war our forces and those of our Allies are steadily, relentlessly carrying the attack to the enemy.

The Allied Armies under General Eisenhower have waged during the past four months one of the most brilliant campaigns in military history -- a campaign which has carried us from the beaches of Normandy and of Southern France into the frontiers of Germany itself.

In the Pacific, our naval task forces have advanced to attack the Japanese, more than five thousand miles west of Pearl Harbor.

But German and Japanese resistance remains as determined -- as fanatical -- as ever.

The guns of Hitler's Gestapo are silencing those German officers who have sense enough to know that every day that the fighting continues means that much more ruin and destruction for their beaten country. We shall have to fight our way across the Rhine -- we may have to fight every inch of the way to Berlin.

But we Americans and our British and Russian and French and Polish Allies -- all the massed forces of the United Nations -- will not stop short of our final goal.

Nor will all of our goals have been achieved when the shooting stops. We must be able to present to our returning heroes an America which is stronger and more prosperous, more deeply devoted to the ways of democracy, than ever before.

"The land of opportunity" -- that's what our forefathers called this country. By God's grace, it must always be the land of opportunity for the individual citizen -- ever broader opportunity.

We have fought our way out of economic crisis -- we are fighting our way through the bitterest of all wars -- and our fighting men and women -- our plain, everyday citizens -- have a right to enjoy the fruits of victory.

Of course all of us who have sons on active service overseas want to have our boys come home at the earliest possible moment consistent with our national safety. And they will come home and be returned to civilian life at the earliest possible moment consistent with our national safety.

The record is clear on this matter and dates back many months.

Bills to provide a national program for demobilization and postwar adjustment were introduced by Senator George and Senator Murray last February.

This legislation, since May 20, 1944, has contained the following provision: "The War and Navy Departments shall not retain persons in the armed forces for the purpose of preventing unemployment or awaiting opportunities for employment."

This provision was approved by the war department and by this Administration.

On June twelfth, the Director of War Mobilization, Justice Byrnes, made a public statement in behalf of this bill. He said: "Our fighting men are entitled to first consideration in any plan of demobilization. Their orderly release at the earliest possible moment consistent with the effective prosecution of the war, has ever been the primary consideration of both the President and the Joint Chiefs of Staff".

On September sixth the War department issued its plan for speedy demobilization, based upon the wishes of the soldiers themselves.

The George Bill has been passed by the Congress, signed by me, and is now the law.

That law is there, for all Americans to read -- and you do not need legal training to understand it.

It seems a pity that reckless words, based on unauthoritative sources, should be used to mislead and to weaken the morale of our men on the fighting fronts and the members of their families here at home.

When our enemies are finally defeated, we all want to see an end at the earliest practicable moment to wartime restrictions and wartime controls.

Strict provisions for the ending of these inconveniences have been written into our wartime laws. Those who fear that wartime measures, like price and rent control and rationing, for example, might be continued indefinitely into peacetime, should examine these laws. They will find that they are all temporary -- to expire either at an early fixed date, or at the end of the war, or six months after the war, or sooner if the Congress or the President so determines.

The American people do not need, and no national administration would dare to ask them, to tolerate any indefinite continuance in peacetime of the controls essential in war time.

The power of the will of the American people expressed through the free ballot is the surest protection against the weakening of our democracy by "regimentation" or by any alien doctrines.

It is a source of regret to all decent Americans that some political propagandists are now dragging red herrings across the trail of this national election.

For example, labor baiters and bigots and some politicians use the term "communism" loosely, and apply it to every progressive social measure and to the views of every foreign-born citizen with whom they disagree.

They forget that we in the United States are all descended from immigrants (all except the Indians); and there is no better proof of that fact than the heroic names on our casualty lists.

I have just been looking at a statement by Representative Anderson, Chairman of the House Committee on Campaign Expenditures, about a document recently sent free, through the mails, by one Senator and twelve Representatives -- all of them Republicans. They evidently thought highly of this document, for they had more than three million copies printed by the Government Printing Office -- requiring more than eighteen tons of scarce and expensive paper -- and sent them through the mails all over the country at the Taxpayers' expense.

Now -- let us look at this document to see what made it so important to thirteen Republican leaders at this stage of the war when many millions of our men are fighting for freedom.

Well -- this document says that the "Red spectre of communism is stalking our country from East to West, from North to South" -- the charge being that the Roosevelt Administration is part of a gigantic plot to sell our democracy out to the communists.

This form of fear propaganda is not new among rabble rousers and fomenters of class hatred -- who seek to destroy democracy itself. It was used by Mussolini's black shirts and by Hitler's brown shirts. It has been used before in this country by the silver shirts and others on the lunatic fringe. But the sound and democratic instincts of the American people rebel against its use, particularly by their own Congressmen -- and at the taxpayers' expense.

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and to the unprecedented outpouring of American manpower, American productivity and American ingenuity -- and to the magnificent courage and enterprise of our fighting men and our military leadership.

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To provide that assurance of international security is the policy, the effort and the obligation of this Administration.

We owe it to our posterity, we owe it to our heritage of freedom, we owe it to our God, to devote the rest of our lives and all of our capabilities to the building of a solid, durable structure of world peace.

Confidential

October 2, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR JUDIE ROSENMAN

Here is a draft of the material I promised to send over to you yesterday.

It is over long. If it is desired to concentrate on the issue of jobs after the war, the stuff about keeping the peace can, of course, be materially cut.

Attachment



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From the papers of
JERRY L. HOPKINS

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Oscar Chapman

October 2, 1944

The American people are too intelligent and have too sure an instinct to be fooled by the false statements of some politicians.

The dictators abroad developed the technique of never using a small falsehood, always a big one. This was on the theory that the fantastic nature of the big lie would make it more credible—if only you keep repeating it over and over again.

Well the proof is in the pudding. The shots of some of our politicians have been called. They are repeating over and over again the fantastic falsehoods. Only my dog Fella is immune this week.

These politicians have several new falsehoods now to add to their repetition. They say I said I would not campaign for office in the usual sense. Right. But they make a falsehood by leaving out the next sentence from the acceptance speech (and I quote): "I shall, however, feel free to report to the people the facts about matters of concern to them and especially to correct any misrepresentations."

And what misrepresentations to correct!

These politicians say we were not adequately prepared for war when the Japs attacked us. Of course we were not. But why? Because these very politicians fought, delayed, obstructed and tried to sabotage every single step aimed at preparing and strengthening this country.



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HARRY L. HOPKINS

They blindly and irresponsibly endangered the lives of our people and the very existence of our country. Let's look at the indelible record of the Republican vote on only a few of the great measures which they blocked and delayed:

(1) Repeal of the Arms Embargo - A vital step which

was necessary to prevent our present allies from having gone under:

Senate: 8 Republicans for, 15 Republicans opposed.

House : 21 Republicans for, 143 Republicans opposed.

(2) Selective Service - To build an Army:

Senate: 8 Republicans for, 10 Republicans opposed.

House : 52 Republicans for, 112 Republicans opposed.

(3) Lend-Lease - The foundation for our successful fighting

partnership with our allies:

Senate: 10 Republicans for, 17 Republicans against.

House: 24 Republicans for, 135 Republicans against.

(4) Extension of Selective Service - To have an adequate

army to meet the dangers ahead of us:

Senate: 7 Republicans for, 13 Republicans opposed.

House: 21 Republicans for, 133 Republicans opposed.



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And this bill—this absolutely vital measure for our security—was passed by only one vote in the House of Representatives several months before Pearl Harbor. The tragic consequences of this blind and bitter opposition and delay should make the 133 Republicans who voted against it bow their heads in humility and shame. It certainly does not lie in the mouths of the Republican leaders of the same mind to create and repeat the big misstatements about preparing the United States for this most terrible of wars.

And here are several more whoppers they have tried to pass off. They try to prove that I did nothing to prepare the country for the dangers ahead of it by tearing out of context a sentence from a speech made in 1937. Just imagine—of all things, it was the quarantining-of-the-aggressors speech. Where were these politicians when I warned the country of the aggressors in 1937? They also say that I said talk about a two-ocean navy was dumb. Of course, I did. Every schoolboy knows there are more than two oceans and more than two seas where our national interests might have been and actually have been vitally at stake since my statement in 1940. Our boys would have been in a fine situation in



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the North African and Italian offensives if we had a navy anchored only to the Atlantic and Pacific and not useable in the Mediterranean. Before this war is over we will doubtless have to fight some major battles in the Indian Ocean and the China Sea. Long before some of these politicians knew anything about navies in modern war we started to build a navy which could serve this country wherever its essential interests required it—not merely on the Atlantic and Pacific.

The American people have had enough of these repetitive and petty misstatements. In these tragic times the great issues should not be befogged by such false dwelling on the past.

Those of us who have sons, husbands, brothers and other kin on the battlefields on land, sea and in the air have had it burned into our souls that there are certain tasks ahead of us which we must face and complete with the same indomitable will, intelligence and devotion which has already led us so far on the road to victory.

We must completely defeat Nazi Germany and the Japanese war lords as quickly and as effectively as possible—and with the least loss of lives. We must leave no stone unturned to see that another war is not visited on our children or our children's children. We must see to it



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that there is full employment and production in the United States after the war so that everyone who is ready, willing and able to work can get a job and enjoy the fruits of his labors in a decent standard of living.

We started this war in a close partnership with brave allies--each of whom has contributed to the full extent of its resources in men and materials for the common cause. We will finish the war--and finish it sooner and with less loss in the lives of our own as well as allied men--by continuing to combine our men, our strategy, our commands, our supplies and all of our other resources. The advance work, thinking and direction which led up to close concert with our friends and allies at Casablanca, Quebec, Teheran and Cairo is now confounding our enemies and is being corroborated every day on the fighting fronts of the world. But we must move on. At Quebec we have laid the plans which will lead to and strike at the heart of Japan, speed up and complete the defeat of Germany and assure that Germany and Japan will not again menace the world.

From the day we were attacked at Pearl Harbor, we have known with clarity for what we are fighting. We are not fighting merely to preserve our self-existence. We are fighting for that, but we also are fighting to extirpate nazism, fascism and militarism and to prevent these or



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similar doctrines of aggression from shedding our blood again.

Our sons, brothers and fathers have not died in vain.

We must continue to struggle and fight to win the peace with the same will and drive which has assured the winning of the war.

In peace, as in war, no organization or machinery can be any better than the deep-felt want and urge of an informed and vigilant people to make it work.

The peace-loving peoples in the travail of this long war have begun to achieve the unbreakable will to peace. They feel—and rightly so—that the machinery and the policies to assure the peace can and must be worked out. We must continue to translate this will to peace into positive and effective action.

The foundation stones to assure the peace have already been laid. We—the United Nations—have already gone far on the long road to peace by working together to win this war. In such unity there is also strength for peace. On the Atlantic, at Moscow, Casablanca, Teheran, Cairo, Atlantic City, Hot Springs, Bretton Woods, at Dumbarton Oaks and at Quebec, we have forged with our peace-loving friends unified policies and procedures on our war and peace aims. We have taken long steps in meeting the problems



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of food and agriculture, relief and rehabilitation, on monetary and financial questions, on education and oil. We know that we must and can effectively enforce the peace against Germany and Japan. We must and can have an effective general organization for security which can act swiftly to prevent any future aggressive wars.

The principles of a workable general organization for peace and security are grounded in the thinking, the traditions and the sound instincts of our peoples.

In modern times total peace must be insured in much the same way that total victory is achieved.

The main end and purpose of the general organization is to maintain peace and security and to aid in the creation, through international cooperation, of those conditions of well-being necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among the nations.

Great and small peace-loving nations must all play their part in securing indivisible and total peace. The maintenance of peace and security must be the continued and joint task of all peace-loving nations—large and small alike. Therefore, the international organization for peace and security must be made up of all such nations.



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Total peace must be founded on justice, order and morality. The same rules of law and justice must apply to the weak nations as to the strong ones.

Pacific means of resolving disputes between nations must be effectively used. Consultation, conciliation, mediation, arbitration, judicial determination and other like methods rather than war must be the means of adjusting differences between nations.

Aggressive warfare must not only be renounced as an instrument of national policy, but it must be made so clear that it is unprofitable and unwise for any nation thinking of pursuing it that it will not be undertaken. To do this it must be crystal clear not only that the force of informed and civilised public opinion will oppose aggression, but that the force of force will be swiftly and effectively used to prevent such aggressive warfare or to stop it in its early stages.

To achieve this it is not necessary to create a superstate or to divest any of the peace-loving nations of the armed forces necessary for their defense. We have demonstrated beyond a doubt in this war that combined and unified action can be taken—and taken effectively. By joining action, where each nation great and small alike has contributed according



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to its resources and abilities, we have made victory certain without any nation giving up control of its own armed forces in the carrying out of common purposes. We--the United Nations--have discussed and agreed with each other as to when and how we should act in concert for the common cause. On the Russian front, no less than in the skies over Germany, on the battlefields of Eastern France and Germany and Italy, and in the waters of the Pacific, there has been concert of action and combined operations by the peoples of the United Nations without the giving up of their independence. We know that this has met the acid test of war. We must give working life to the same principles for peace.

In the hours of decision that are ahead of us we shall see how our unity of will, command and resources will crush our enemies. It is only by uniting our full strength with the full strength of the other free peoples of the world that we have moved to hasten victory. By maintaining our unity and applying the same energy, patriotism and devotion to the peace as to the war, we will assure a world where mankind can live, work and worship in peace, freedom and security.

Without a strong, vital and forward-looking United States, working in cooperation with the other peace-loving nations, the world cannot have the economic well-being and the strength which is necessary to assure a durable peace.



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To have full employment and full production in the United States, we must face the problems ahead of us with the same boldness, imagination, vision and patriotic drive which we put into preparing for and achieving victory.

We must set targets and objectives which seem incredible and impossible to those who live in and are weighted down by the dead past. When the 50,000 plane program was proposed, I know, despite the doubting Thomases, that the American people had to and would do the job. I couldn't tell you in manifold detail exactly how they would do it. But I knew that the American people had the ingenuity, venture and drive to do it. They have more than done it. We not only produced 50,000 planes a year. We have produced more than 100,000 a year--many of them the biggest bombers ever built.

Our major objective now must be to produce each year in peacetime at least one hundred and fifty billion dollars worth of useful goods. That objective can and will be achieved.

That will mean that everyone who is ready, willing and able to work will have a job. That will mean that everyone who is ready, willing and able to work will not only have a job, but can earn enough for a decent standard of living. That will mean that there will be wages, not



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unemployment. That will mean that there will be high, not depression, wages. That will mean a free consumers' market where the worker and farmer can exercise a free choice in purchasing from producers more housing, more automobiles, more refrigerators, more medical care, more travel and more fruitful leisure.

The foundations have already been constructed for such an America. Our people have the unbreakable will to do the job. They have the boldness, venture and leadership to do it. We have already taken some of the steps and worked out some of the plans to do the job. They will be presented from time to time for public consideration, discussion and action.

Tonight I want to present a few of the proposals to achieve our objective of full employment and full production. We must, of course, further attack the problems of housing and the rebuilding of our industrial plant with vigor and imagination. We must see that small business has equal opportunities to expand and grow in a real atmosphere of free competition. But we must also explore and harness new frontiers.

There are still many great and new frontiers in front of the people of America.



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We still have geographical frontiers and we still have challenging frontiers of the mind. If we pioneer these new frontiers as we have the old, we will continue to improve the well-being of the people of this country.

We now know how the development of the Tennessee Valley has not only controlled floods and materially increased our power to make war against brutal enemies through the use of electrical energy to produce aluminum and other vital war supplies, but it has also improved the conditions and welfare of all the people in the Tennessee Valley. That has in turn meant improvement in the conditions and welfare of the people of the United States. We also know how great dams like the one at Bounsville have supplied the power to build the thousands of merchant ships that have been so necessary in this war. I have already recommended to Congress the appropriate legislation to develop the Missouri Valley along lines similar to the Tennessee Valley. Previously I had suggested that similar development should be made of the Arkansas River and the Columbia River watersheds.

As we shift from war to peace, these developments will not only make for jobs, but will also result in lasting benefits to the people of this country.



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In the frontiers of the mind there are even greater opportunities. We live in a modern scientific world. We have really only scratched the surface in the civilized developments which can be made for the benefit of the people of this country and the people of the world.

Research and development in the sciences on a scale never before envisioned should be embarked upon for the public good. Our experience in recent years with scientific research and development has more than proved its worth. In June of 1941 your Government established the Office of Scientific Research and Development. It was composed of a relatively small group of the most distinguished scientists in the country, if not in the world. They have worked quietly through the facilities and personnel of the research foundations, private industry, institutions of higher learning, and laboratories throughout the length and breadth of the country. The result has been the greatest scientific development and advancement in a comparable period that the world has ever known. For security reasons much of the story cannot yet be told at this time. But when the full story is told, I am sure that the American people will be proud of it. Although this work was directed mainly to shortening and winning the war, much of it will prove a great boon to mankind when peace returns. Research



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and development for security purposes cannot, of course, be practically separated from research for peacetime purposes. For example, the almost magical principles of radar will doubtlessly have a host of peacetime uses. The products of medical research which has perfected such wonders as penicillin and the great strides in surgery are already coming into general use. More will follow in other fields as the war needs and the need of military secrecy grow less.

Solid and imaginative scientific research and development can be one of the firmest foundations for plentiful and useful jobs. We have but to look at what effect the developments in radio, for example, have had in the creation of jobs as well as in improving our communications and bringing swifter and more adequate knowledge and entertainment to our people. In 1938, there were more than 10,000,000 radio sets in use in the United States. In 1939, for instance, over 10,000,000 radio sets were produced in the United States. In that year, at least 55,000 persons were employed directly in producing them. In addition, of course, thousands upon thousands of additional people were engaged in distributing, financing, shipping and otherwise dealing with them. All new advancements of this type make for fuller employment and otherwise increase benefits to our people.



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We should provide adequate assistance from the Government for the carrying on in this country of scientific research and development to the fullest extent possible. We should appropriate at least a billion dollars annually to be used in every necessary or desirable way, through private and public institutions and foundations, industry and technically qualified individuals, to further our knowledge in the fields of science and technology and to improve the methods and means for translating such knowledge into practical use.

There are also great frontiers ahead of the people of America in the fields of health and education.

We must wage war against the enemies of disease as we have waged war against the Nazis and Japanese.

During the period from Pearl Harbor through September 6, 1944-- nearly three years--our military deaths in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard have aggregated more than 89,000 young men. This shocking loss, which would have been greater without the splendid work of the American doctors and research workers in and out of uniform, is not one which we could have avoided. It was forced on us by the powers of evil in Germany and Japan.



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As shocking as the loss of these fine lives is to all of us, there are other agents of death whose toll far exceeds that of war—I mention only a few—cancer, heart disease, tuberculosis, diabetes and pneumonia.

The deaths resulting from these and similar ailments far exceed those resulting from the war. During 1942 alone, we lost more than four times as many American lives from diseases of the heart as we did from war causes in the nearly three years since Pearl Harbor. During 1942 alone, we lost more than twice as many lives from cancer as we did from war causes in the nearly three years since Pearl Harbor.

These enemies of disease are not merely with us at occasional times. They have been and are with us year in and year out. Unlike battle losses forced on us through the wrongful acts of others, there is something we can do about these enemies of the lives and health of our people.

Our medical scientists in public and private institutions and foundations are waging an unceasing struggle to ascertain the causes of these diseases where they are not known and to increase our knowledge of their prevention, control, diagnosis and treatment. Some of this work has met with outstanding success. But more—much more remains to be done.

Lack of funds and facilities are handicapping this vital work—vital to every American citizen and vital to our people for generations



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to come. The best of our doctors and medical scientists should be able to conduct intensive research on a far bolder and larger scale than has ever been conceived before. It is well known that a thousand good men engaged in medical research can produce more than a thousand times the results of one man.

Many of our people die every year because their fatal ailments are not known or attended to soon enough. Better opportunities for effective and speedy diagnosis and better hospital and medical care should be afforded to all the people of America.

We are now spending more than 7 billion dollars per month for the conduct of the war.

We should and must spend in the next year at least 7 billion dollars to attack our enemies of disease. We should start on the road to real victory over them. We should attack these enemies in every effective way and with every effective weapon as we have attacked our enemies on the battlefield. We must plan and execute our strategy and our tactics with the same imagination and vision and drive as we have in the war.

As free men, whose minds are bold, we will create the foundations for a healthful existence for the people of America and the people of the world.



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We have still a good deal of pioneering to do in the field of education.

We should train the flower of our youth for the arts of peace on an even broader and more imaginative basis than we have trained it for war. We have long had excellent national academies--West Point, Annapolis, and the Coast Guard Academy--for training our young men primarily in the arts of war.

To meet the vast and complex problems of peace and its maintenance, we need to do much more in the training of our young men and women.

A step in the right direction has been made, at the suggestion of your Government, in the educational provisions of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act--more popularly known as the "GI Bill of Rights."

It is of paramount importance that our future leaders and public servants be fully equipped to meet the task of maintaining and developing our country on a sound peacetime basis. There is no more logical group to discharge this heavy responsibility initially than those of our young men and women now in uniform who desire the opportunity for training in such work. They represent the flower of our youth. With a first-hand knowledge of the horrors of war, they can be trusted to carry out the work of insuring peace. Their training will call for instruction in practically every field, according to the talents and desires of the particular individual--public affairs, foreign relations, commerce, industry,



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agriculture and vocational training.

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act makes provision for such instruction. Those of our servicemen and women who have the aptitudes for public affairs and who elect public service as a career will be afforded an opportunity unparalleled in our history to fit themselves for their responsibilities without financial burdens or worries during their training period. The benefit to the nation of such a competent group of public servants cannot be measured.

Many of our young men and women will have seen service abroad, and may elect to enter the foreign service or foreign commerce. Given adequate instruction, together with their practical experience abroad, no finer representatives of America could be found.

There will be those who will wish to return to business, industry or agriculture. They will be afforded the opportunity to prepare themselves for the future through educational and vocational training.

To assist the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs in formulating policy and carrying out his duties under the Act, there should be an over-all committee on education composed of leaders in public affairs, business, commerce, industry, agriculture, science and education, as well



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as representative labor leaders familiar with practical vocational training. Under this general committee there should be specialized subcommittees composed of public-spirited men and women to work out the administrative details of particular programs.

To return to the comparison made at the outset with West Point and Annapolis, very serious thought should be given to the development and establishment of schools for public affairs and foreign affairs. Such institutions would provide a much needed training ground for Government service in the arts of peace. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act goes far to fill this gap for the group now in uniform. Provision should also be made for future generations seeking an opportunity to serve their country in non-military pursuits.

Any American who is ready, willing and able to benefit the country and himself by additional vocational or higher education should have the opportunity to do so even if his parents or he or she cannot afford such education. Though it was fought tooth and nail in its early stages, free grade school education is now one of the accepted foundation stones of our virile democracy. We must now move on to greater educational opportunities for the good of our people and of our country. In this



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way, we can make our already strong democracy even stronger and more adapted to the changing conditions of the modern world.

Bold and imaginative handling of our regional valley areas, scientific research and development, health and education will not only make for useful jobs, but immeasurably improve the welfare of our people. There are also other things we should do to create useful jobs.

Jobs after the war will depend not only on our markets at home but on our markets abroad.

In 1944 exports from the United States will total nearly fifteen billion dollars—more than four times our peacetime trade. Millions of our workers and farmers and a multitude of our industries have been engaged in the production of these exports. Every nation of the world has become familiar with American products it has never known before—and we have seen to it that the goods shipped during the war bear the United States label.

Our allies have needed the products of our factories and of our farms to fight effectively with us in the winning of the war. They will need our products also in the peace for the tremendous task of reconstruction and development ahead. Russia, China, France, our good neighbors in South America, and the other countries of the world will need American goods.



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Our postwar foreign trade can bring vitally needed supplies to the other countries of the world; and at the same time, it can provide jobs and opportunities for business expansion on a scale that can only be matched by our wartime experience.

We can have faith that this market exists and that it can result in millions of jobs. Now, I have heard a great deal recently about the necessity of "having faith" in America and in the future. But the old Bible saying still applies: "Faith without works is dead." A little constructive thought and action won't hurt our faith a bit. As wise old Benjamin Franklin said, "God helps them that help themselves." I propose that we do just that, and combine faith with a little realism. We have a vast number of willing customers for our products. Some of them will need financial assistance to tide them over the difficult reconstruction period and in some cases our own bankers and exporters may not be able to give them the help they need. I believe that this government should assist in the financing of exports to the extent necessary and I think we should be realistic enough to be aware of the fact that financial help will be necessary on a relatively large scale. But we should not indulge ourselves in childlike faith and repeat again the shortsighted Republican policy of the 20's. Their policy encouraged indiscriminate lending for



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purposes that have little relationship to the enhancing of a country's ability to repay its debts. You may remember that some American money found its way into the pockets of playboy sons of foreign dictators and that a great deal of it went to Germany for the rebuilding of their industrial plants. That must not happen again.

The loans we make should be for productive useful purposes of the kind which this administration has always sponsored such as our FHA loans which enable millions of home owners to borrow money on terms that they can repay—low interest over a long enough period of time so that they would not default on their debts. And despite a doubting Thomas I know that the American people favor this type of loan both at home and abroad to the unsound fiscal policy of the Republican kind in the 20's.

From time to time I will suggest additional measures which go to make for full employment and production in the United States. I am certain that we will achieve our aims of full employment and full production. We will have a strong and vital country where our people will insist on and have economic freedom and strength as well as the freedom and strength to speak and worship and not be afraid of war.



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MATERIAL FOR OCTOBER 5 SPEECH

In an election year there is an abundance of political promises and political assurances. But these assurances are of two quite different kinds. There is the one kind which I may call "the pie-in-the-sky" sort of assurance. Elect us and don't worry. Don't bother with details; just trust us.

The other kind is the assurance that is backed up by performance and set forth in concrete, practical steps which will fulfill the objectives. Last January, in my message to the Congress on the state of the Union, I summarized the advance that has been made in this country in terms of the things which we now are generally agreed must be available to all Americans as a matter of right. I ventured to call these our economic bill of rights, a bill of rights that we have now added to the great fundamental bill of political rights which our fathers wrote into the Constitution.

That economic bill of rights was based upon the concrete accomplishments of the past, most of them achieved within the past dozen years. It summarized our experience and pointed the way to next steps. It is now time, I believe, to set forth specifically just what each one of these rights means, just what responsibility, in terms of public programs, each one imposes upon us.

Let me now take them up one by one and say what I



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think must be done to make them genuine and real for every American.

First, the right to a job, a useful job, a good job, in the factory, on the farm, in the mine, or in the shop or office.

If this right is to mean what it says, then the Federal Government must stand ready at all times to guarantee, not with promises but with works, that the jobs are there. During the war, Government orders for planes and tanks and ships and guns and for food and clothing and trucks have set the wheels of industry running at full blast. Jobs have been looking for men. After the war is won Government orders for highways, for airfields, for power dams, for schools, for hospitals, for public works of every description, can keep industry running at full blast, with jobs, good jobs, for all who seek them.

I propose that after the war public works, necessary and useful and productive public works, be undertaken at whatever time and in whatever amount is necessary to supplement the job opportunities provided by private enterprise. I propose that the Government always stand ready to take up any slack whatsoever in our economic system. And I propose that Government not wait until unemployment has reached desperate levels, but that it move swiftly to nip depression in the bud. This is what it takes to make the right to a job a reality.



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Second, the right to earn enough to provide a decent and comfortable standard of living.

Before the war my Administration made a broad beginning in establishing this right. This it did through the Wagner Act, which guaranteed the right of collective bargaining, and through the Wage and Hour Act, which placed a floor under wages to eliminate sweatshop conditions. After the war we must push forward on this front. Collective bargaining must be protected, encouraged, and strengthened. The wage floor must be extended to protect workers in all occupations and must be raised from a level which ^{merely} prevents sweatshop conditions to a level fully meeting the requirements of decency and comfort.

Third, the right of every farmer to decent prices, prices which give him and his family a decent and comfortable living.

There is nothing in which I take greater pride than in the measures which this Administration has taken to support farm prices, not only before and during the war but after the war as well. But we cannot be content with this. We must push on, to improve the lot of the farm tenant and provide the fullest opportunity for farm ownership and to raise the level of well-being on the family farm. This means improvement in the machinery for the extension of credit. It means protection and encouragement of farm cooperatives. It means crop insurance. It means rural electrification. It means better schools and better medical facilities.



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Fourth, the right of every businessman, large and small,
to freedom from unfair competition and monopolistic domination.

Before the war my Administration was engaged in a vigorous program to curb monopoly and to strengthen and encourage small business. That program must be extended after the war. We have already served notice that American business must be freed from monopoly abroad as well as at home. But we cannot be content with destroying evil; we must take positive measures to promote good. Machinery must be set up which places the small business on the same footing as the large, which provides equal access to credit and capital, equal access to patents, to research facilities and the development of new materials, new methods, and new products, equal access to information on market conditions and prospects. During my Administration our tax laws have aided and encouraged small business. We must strive continually to improve the tax laws in this respect.

Fifth, the right of every family to a decent home.

This right means the elimination of slums, the elimination of slums wherever they exist -- in the cities, in the villages, on the farms. The slums must go. I propose that the Government, through its various housing programs, underwrite and guarantee the construction of a minimum of a million and a half new dwelling units a year and see to it that within not more than 10 years every family in the Nation, irrespective of income, color, or creed, occupy a dwelling in which its children



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may be decently raised.

Sixth, the right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health.

There is nothing more precious to the well-being of this Nation than the health of our people. There is nothing more shocking than that, in an age and country which have brought medical science to its present high development, there should be those who are denied its blessings. I propose that every county, irrespective of its wealth, have a hospital, fully equipped and adequately staffed. I propose that every family, irrespective of its income, have access to hospitalization and to medical services generally. Whether this be done by the municipalities, by the counties, by the States, by the Federal Government, or by some combination among them is immaterial. The important thing, the crucial thing, is that it be done.

Seventh, the right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment.

In the Social Security Act we pioneered in this field. After the war we must push the programs forward until no fraction of our people — not one-third, not one-fifth, not one-tenth, not a single family — is denied their protection. And here again we must see to it that the amount of the protection is not niggardly, but fully commensurate with our wealth, our productive capacity, our income. And let us not forget that



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this is not a matter of charity, it is a matter of right. These programs must extend to all and there must be no means test in their application.

Last but not least, the right to a good education.

For a hundred years the right to an education has been a cornerstone of American public policy, and nothing, in my judgment, has contributed more to our progress during the past century than our public school system. But we cannot blink the fact that there are great disparities in the educational opportunities between State and State and between town and country. And we cannot blink the fact that a good education is still unavailable to millions of our youth from low-income families.

The Nation can no longer afford to waste these talents simply because of the accident of family circumstance. When the war is over we must take steps to remove every barrier to a good education. Here again we cannot be content until every American, whatever his residence and whatever his family income, is enabled to develop his talents to the full. And again I say that it is immaterial whether this be done through the municipal and county governments, by the States, by the Federal Government, or by a combination. What is important is that it be done.

These are the eight economic rights which I set forth last January. Let me repeat what I said at that time:



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"All of these rights spell security.

After this war is won we must be prepared to move forward, in the implementation of these rights, to new goals of human happiness and well-being."

Let no one say we cannot afford these things, that we cannot afford to end unemployment, that we cannot afford to provide ourselves with decent homes and good health, with good education during our youth, with protection through our working years, and with comfort and security in our old age.

There are those who will say that we cannot afford these things. But I say that this Nation cannot be richer by producing less and it cannot be poorer by producing more. The welfare of the Nation cannot be impaired by providing men with opportunity for productive work or by providing that all shall share the fruits of the Nation's production. The Nation cannot be weakened by improving the health, the education, the security, of its people, and it cannot be strengthened by sickness, by ignorance, by insecurity.



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HERBERT HAYARD SWOPE
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NEW YORK

P.O. #22

October 23, 1944.

ROUGH NOTES FOR S.I.R.s

What I said to you on the 'phone is the basis for the following suggestions. I am sure there must be a move made to offset a tendency on the part of the women to look for a scapegoat to blame for the absence, injury or loss of their sons, brothers, father and sweethearts. That can be done, as I see it, by pointing up arguments to show:

1. That every effort was made to escape the war, short of peril to our allies and our country, but it was as inescapable as an earthquake.
2. That every plan for the fighting of the war is rooted in the desire to win it finally and at as low a cost in life and limb as possible.
3. That no expenditures were spared to arm, clothe, house and feed our soldiers in the most effective manner - effective in the way of protecting their lives by increasing their striking power.
4. That F.D.R. and his wife share the anguish and suspense of 11,000,000 families because he has four boys at the front, and his only girl's husband is in uniform, too.
5. That he is eager to have the soldiers come home, restored to the arms of their loved ones and to the life they want, based upon the jobs they had - or better ones - and he is bending every effort to that end.
6. That, whatever else happens, the veterans will be taken care of - all the veterans - the wounded in body; the wounded in mind; those safely returned and the families of those who died that we may live in safety and peace. Here he might go into the various accommodations and protections planned for the returning soldiers.



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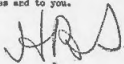
Samuel I. Rosenman

7. I suggest that the fabric to hold these thoughts might be woven of that speech he made in which he said "I hate war." Let him point out that in this he is wholly American; that this country hates it, and seeks to avoid it at any cost save national safety; that peace is the natural state of a democracy, while peace is merely an interlude in the wars that build up dictators. Our whole history is rooted in peace, but we are terrible in war as our whole history also shows. Now we are trying to develop a real method of averting war.

I wish you would tell The Boss that I feel it is essential that some reassurance of this sort be spoken. It will be doubly effective because it comes from him, and because it is the truth.

If you should want anything further on this subject let me know.

A bow to The Boss and to you.



The Honorable Samuel I. Rosenman,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.



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FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

October 3, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR JUDGE SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN

Attached is a memorandum on TVA and Regional
Development.

You may be able to put it to use.

If time is available, you may want to have
the accuracy of some of the facts cross-checked by Lillenthal.

Oscar Cox



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October 3, 1944

TVA AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

There are a few who talk about frontiers. They look at the map and say that because we have grown from one ocean to another we shall grow no more—that there is no longer any room for American enterprise, American courage, American imagination—that the country is built—that there is nothing more for us to do. You and I know better. We know that in this great land of ours—1000 miles and more from our friend and neighbor Canada to our friend and neighbor Mexico, 3000 miles from the Atlantic to the Pacific—we know that in this great land of ours we have been blessed by Providence with vast natural resources.

We will grow as long as we will use these resources with American enterprise, American courage and American imagination. Our production for war has shown what we can do with these resources.

We can do the same for peace [housing, schools, roads, other specific jobs to be done by private enterprise or local authorities].

We know too of the miraculous progress of American industry in these war years [plastics, television, airplanes, pre-fabricated houses—new industries and new employment after the war].

And there have been other miracles—miracles worked by the people of the whole country, acting through their representatives in the Congress and the Executive branch of the Government. There is Boulder Dam [what it has done]. There is Bonneville [what it has done]. And



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there is the Tennessee Valley Authority--TVA.

I want to say a few words to you about the TVA. What has been done there has not only benefited the people of the states along the Tennessee River—it has benefited the people of the whole country. It has benefited us not only for war but for peace—not only in the present but for all the future.

The type of development—the type of vision and practical sense that TVA stands for can be put into effect in many other regions of the United States. I have recommended that it be extended to the Arkansas River, the Columbia and the Missouri.

The Tennessee Valley Authority was established by Act of Congress in 1933. One of its purposes, as declared by Congress, was to improve navigation in the Tennessee River. Another was to control destructive flood waters in the Tennessee and Mississippi basins and to develop power. Another was to arrange with farmers for the use of new forms of fertilizers and for the prevention of soil erosion.

From the mouth of the Tennessee at Paducah to the head of the main river at Knoxville is 650 miles. In 1933 a boat could go the first 260 miles upstream if it drew no more than four feet. It could go 200 miles farther if it drew only 2 feet. Next year there will be a channel nine feet deep for the whole 650 miles, and already by 1942, with the work then done, the freight moving on the river was three and a half times the amount in 1928 and five times the amount in 1933. Formerly the freight was mostly raw materials. Now it includes steel, oil and jeans.



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To build this channel the TVA has improved and modified five dams that were already existing and has built sixteen new ones. The material for these new dams is four times the bulk of Boulder Dam.

But these dams were not alone for navigation. They were also designed to provide for flood control and to produce electrical power.

Before they were built, every farm and factory on the river was in danger of being flooded every year. Now the Tennessee is the most fully controlled major river in the world. Engineers press buttons, dam gates open and close, the war industries on the Tennessee are safe from flooding, and the flood crest in the lower Mississippi is reduced by two or three feet. This control of floods has resulted in incalculable savings in lives and property.

Then there is the electric power produced at these dams and by TVA's auxiliary steam station and the stations it has bought. TVA has nearly quadrupled the installed generating capacity of the TVA region compared with 1933. In 1944 it will produce 12 billion kilowatt hours of electric energy—nearly twice as much as it produced about two years ago.

This enormous output of electrical power by TVA has had vast consequences for war and for peace. Recently, three quarters



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of it has gone for war. Aluminum, for example, is mostly the product of electricity, and a major part of all the aluminum for American aircraft—at one critical time, more than half of it—has come from the valley.

TVA has meant a more abundant life for the people of the region. It has made electric power available to them at much lower rates than were charged before. The result is that since the start of TVA the number of farms with electricity has increased three times as fast in the TVA region as in the country as a whole and the amount of electricity used in the homes that have it has increased far faster than in the whole country. In fact, Tennessee Valley has become the leading market of the entire country for electrical appliances—such as electric refrigerators, electric ranges, electric water heaters and electric washers.

Many new products and processes are being made or used in the Valley—for example, new quick freezing for fruits and vegetables, community refrigerators, new types of low cost farm equipment. These have been developed by TVA alone or in association with state agencies or universities. In this way, new small businesses have been born and old ones have expanded.

And then there is the land and the use of the land. TVA is showing the farmers of the Valley how to save their soil from erosion,